U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
National Technical Information Service

CMP-SPRCM-76-17

SELECTIONS FROM PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA MAGAZINES

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL
HONG KONG, B.C.C.

JUNE 1976

U.I.C.C.
AUG 13 1976
LIBRARY

KEEP UP TO DATE

Between the time you ordered this report—which is only one of the hundreds of thousands in the NTIS information collection available to you—and the time you are reading this message, several *new* reports relevant to your interests probably have entered the collection.

Subscribe to the **Weekly Government Abstracts** series that will bring you summaries of new reports *as soon as they are received by NTIS* from the originators of the research. The WGA's are an NTIS weekly newsletter service covering the most recent research findings in 25 areas of industrial, technological, and sociological interest—invaluable information for executives and professionals who must keep up to date.

The executive and professional information service provided by NTIS in the **Weekly Government Abstracts** newsletters will give you thorough and comprehensive coverage of government-conducted or sponsored research activities. And you'll get this important information within two weeks of the time it's released by originating agencies.

WGA newsletters are computer produced and electronically photocomposed to slash the time gap between the release of a report and its availability. You can learn about technical innovations immediately—and use them in the most meaningful and productive ways possible for your organization. Please request NTIS-PR-205/PCW for more information.

The weekly newsletter series will keep you current. But *learn what you have missed in the past* by ordering a computer **NTISearch** of all the research reports in your area of interest, dating as far back as 1964, if you wish. Please request NTIS-PR-186/PCN for more information.

WRITE: Managing Editor
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, VA 22161

Keep Up To Date With SRIM

SRIM (Selected Research in Microfiche) provides you with regular, automatic distribution of the complete texts of NTIS research reports *only* in the subject areas you select. SRIM covers almost all Government research reports by subject area and/or the originating Federal or local government agency. You may subscribe by any category or subcategory of our WGA **(Weekly Government Abstracts)** or **Government Reports Announcements and Index** categories, or to the reports issued by a particular agency such as the Department of Defense, Federal Energy Administration, or Environmental Protection Agency. Other options that will give you greater selectivity are available on request.

The cost of SRIM service is only 45¢ domestic (60¢ foreign) for each complete microfiched report. Your SRIM service begins as soon as your order is received and processed and you will receive biweekly shipments thereafter. If you wish, your service will be backdated to furnish you microfiche of reports issued earlier.

Because of contractual arrangements with several Special Technology Groups, not all NTIS reports are distributed in the SRIM program. You will receive a notice in your microfiche shipments identifying the exceptionally priced reports not available through SRIM.

A deposit account with NTIS is required before this service can be initiated. If you have specific questions concerning this service, please call (703) 451-1558, or write NTIS, attention SRIM Product Manager.

This information product distributed by

NTIS U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
National Technical Information Service
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, Virginia 22161

CMP-SPRCM-76-17

中华人民共和国杂志选译

Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines

American Consulate General
Hong Kong

No. 875
June 14, 1976

This edition is printed in the United States of America for dissemination in the Western Hemisphere, Europe, the Mediterranean, and the west coast of Africa from material produced by the American Consulate General, Hong Kong. All queries concerning this edition should be sent to:

National Technical Information
Service (152.12)
U.S. Department of Commerce
Springfield, Virginia 22151

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

(Study & Criticism)

On Capitalist Roaders - by Chuang Lan 1

Concentrate on Criticism of Teng, Promote Industrial Production 10

How We Have Fought Against Political Rumors 15

The Moscow Red Square Incident in the 1920's 20

(Historical Research)

The Bankruptcy of the Theory of Productive Forces as Seen from the History of Agricultural Cooperativization in Our Country - by Shih Wei 25

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

PRICES SUBJECT TO CHANGE

Page

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

Li-shih Yen-chiu
No. 1, Feb. 20, 1976 37

Li-shih Yen-chiu
No. 6, Dec. 20, 1975 40

* * *

Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in People's Republic of China periodicals.

On Capitalist Roaders

by

Chuang Lan (庄岚)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 5, May 14, 1976)

It is already ten years since the publication of the May 16, 1966 "Circular" of the CCP Central Committee drawn up under the personal guidance of the great leader Chairman Mao. This is a victorious decade of the great proletarian cultural revolution, a decade of continuous deepening of the struggle waged by the proletariat against capitalist roaders in the Party.

Ten years ago, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out in the "Circular": "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, being all bourgeois representatives, sneaked into the Party to become Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Reviewing the fighting course of the great proletarian cultural revolution in retrospect, summing up the experience of struggle against the capitalist roaders and continuously heightening our understanding of the capitalist roaders -- this is of immense and far-reaching significance to a deeper understanding of the nature, target, tasks and future of the socialist revolution and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Like understanding anything, our understanding of the Party capitalist roaders takes a course. As early as the eve of the founding of our country in 1949, Chairman Mao pointed out that after nationwide seizure of political power the principal contradiction in the country was one between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Following the basic victory of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, Chairman Mao reiterated that throughout the entire historical period of socialism there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle and the principal contradiction is one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In 1962, Chairman Mao brought up the question of class struggle again. In 1964, after summing up the experience of our struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party and the lessons learned from the all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, Chairman Mao for the first time pointed out explicitly during the socialist education movement: "The target of the current movement is to purge those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road." Later, in the CCP Central Committee's "Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," that is, the "16 Articles," Chairman Mao again emphasized this point. In the course of the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist attempt

to reverse verdicts, he went further and stated: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party -- those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." Here Chairman Mao lays special stress on the question of struggling against the bourgeoisie inside the Party and, by making a scientific analysis of the class relations in the socialist period, explains that the main target of the socialist revolution is the capitalist roaders and reveals their class character and the laws governing their operations. Thanks to the great proletarian cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the struggle against the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, we are able to understand more deeply Chairman Mao's thesis on capitalist roaders in the Party. Deepening the understanding of capitalist roaders in the course of struggle against capitalist roaders like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing has been the course of understanding all revolutionary people have experienced.

Why do Party persons in power taking the capitalist road appear? This is the inevitable outcome of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the period of socialism. In society there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle and there are new and old bourgeois elements as well as unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and this is the class origin for generating capitalist roaders. The socialist state is a bourgeois state without capitalists and there are bourgeois rights, and this is the economic origin for generating capitalist roaders. And the existence of imperialism and revisionism abroad is the international origin for generating capitalist roaders.

Under the socialist condition where the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established, the landlord and bourgeois classes have been overthrown. But these people are still around and these classes still exist. They continue to struggle and vainly try to restore capitalism. Like every class or political group which must have its own political representatives to organize political struggle, the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes in order to restore themselves must also find their representatives. However, because they have lost the means of production and political power and since their reputation in society is rather odious, they are no longer qualified to serve as the front runners. They know only too well that a fortress can be most easily captured from within and that it is far better for them to look for agents from inside the ruling Communist Party to safeguard their interests than to do so themselves. By adopting the method of "getting in" and "dragging people out" they succeeded in finding from our Party those bourgeois democrats who were reluctant to go forward and pass the test of socialism and a small number of renegades, secret agents and class aliens who sneaked into the Party as their agents. Included

in these categories were Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Carrying the signboard of Communist Party leaders, they usurped a portion of Party and state power to carry out the counter-revolutionary cause of restoring capitalism. The landlords and the bourgeoisie in society placed their hopes of restoring capitalism on them. Just as the broad revolutionary masses have said, "The capitalist roaders on the stage serve as the protective umbrella while the landlords and the bourgeoisie below serve as the base of the wall." In order to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, landlords and bourgeoisie in society lean on the capitalist roaders for support, while the latter consider the former as their class basis. Such interdependence can be clearly perceived if we just look at how pleased the bourgeoisie in society as well as unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists were when Teng Hsiao-p'ing mounted the stage to stir up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and how they reacted hysterically and aired grievances on his behalf when he was about to fall, culminating in the political incident they created at T'ienanmen Square.

The existence of bourgeois rights in socialist society provides the soil and conditions for continuously engendering the bourgeoisie and capitalism; it supplies the basis for the survival of both new and old bourgeoisie as well as the economic basis for engendering capitalist roaders. Just like the champion of feudal ethics Chia Cheng who regarded the "magic precious stone" hung around Chia Pao-yü's neck as the root of life, the bourgeoisie, after they lost the means of production and political powers, regard bourgeois rights as their lifeblood. In terms of economic origin, the capitalist roaders in the Party are the targets hit by the bourgeoisie with their sugar-coated bullets, and are products of extended bourgeois rights. In 1949, in his address to the 2nd Plenary Session of the 7th Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao predicted: "There may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the names of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets." As it was expected, once the revolution entered the period of socialism, some people were defeated by bourgeois sugar-coated bullets and went over to the capitalist road through extension of bourgeois rights. Judging by the large number of facts uncovered during the great proletarian cultural revolution, the capitalist roaders, whatever their type, turned completely bourgeois in politics, daily life and style of work. When they held power, they took the capitalist instead of the socialist road and became the champions of bourgeois rights. Wielding a portion of political power and powers over production supervision and distribution of products, they employed various crafty means to grab the wealth of the socialist state and the toiling masses, and were more greedy than the capitalists.

"A leopard is known by its spots." If only we analyze how the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, stubbornly defended and extended bourgeois rights, we can easily see the relationship between the capitalist roaders and bourgeois rights.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing particularly resents criticism and restriction of bourgeois rights. When in 1958 Chairman Mao proposed restricting bourgeois rights and criticizing the idea of these rights, he was against it. He was very bitter about the appearance during the big leap forward of such new things as cadre participation in collective productive labor, army officers going down to the company to serve as privates, and the abolition of the bonus system and piece work wages in factories. Once the moment was ripe, he would counter-attack in retaliation, clamoring that "piece-work wages should be reinstated," "the bonus system should also be reinstated and material incentives should enjoy equal weight as spiritual incentives." During the three successive years of natural disasters, in open coordination with the offensives launched by the reactionary forces at home and abroad, he clamorously called for going it along, san-tzu i-pao, "putting profit in command." He declared the current major question boiled down to the "production of grain. As long as production goes up, going it alone may be allowed. It doesn't matter if a cat is black or white so long as it catches mice." Allowing going it alone meant he wanted to reverse the verdict on the transformation of the ownership system in the countryside, that is, to restore that portion of bourgeois rights in respect of ownership that had been abolished. "Putting profit in command," a concrete application of the "white cat, black cat" theory in industrial and mining enterprises regardless of whether a cat is white or black so long as it grabs a profit, was clearly aimed at altering the nature of socialist enterprises and turning public ownership into private ownership.

Toward the end of 1974, not long after Teng Hsiao-p'ing came out to resume work, Chairman Mao in his instruction on theory stressed the need to restrict bourgeois rights under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and pointed out that because there were still bourgeois rights in our country, if people like Lin Piao should come to power it would be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. This was a warning to Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who had consistently defended and extended bourgeois rights. However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing remained his old self, and Chairman Mao's instruction touched him where it hurt. So, he dashed out and frenziedly undermined the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship and opposed the restriction of bourgeois rights. "Certain Questions on Accelerating the Development of Industry,"* dished up on his order, entirely inherited Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line and vainly attempted to bring out intact a whole package of material incentives and "control, checks and coercion." He preached the "ladder-rung theory" to undermine the system of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in a vain attempt to turn the relationship between the higher and lower levels and the relationship between cadres and masses into a

---

* See SPRCM No. 873.

gradation relationship, the relationship between the cat and the mice. Attacking the revolution in literature and art and the revolution in education, he dished up the so-called "Outline of Summary Report"* of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and declared he would provide the experts with rear services, cars, good houses, and clerks, vainly trying to foster the intellectual aristocracy anew and restore the dominant position of bourgeois intellectuals. Flaunting the ensign of "rectification," he called for all-round adjustment for the purpose of getting rid of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist new things that restrict bourgeois rights, restoring and extending bourgeois rights all round, and widening the soil for restoring capitalism. The fact that Teng Hsiao-p'ing was so frenziedly opposed to the restriction of bourgeois rights and so eager to safeguard and extend bourgeois rights illustrates that bourgeois rights are closely linked with the basic interests of the capitalist roaders and revisionist high officials. To combat and prevent revisionism, we must struggle against the capitalist roaders, persist in the restriction of bourgeois rights under the dictatorship of the proletariat, gradually narrow and eventually eradicate the economic basis on which the bourgeoisie and its agents in the Party, the capitalist roaders, depend for their survival, and bring about conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist and to arise anew.

The generation of capitalist roaders has not only class and economic origins but also international origins. Capital is an international force and revisionism is also international in character. As long as imperialism, revisionism and reaction exist in the world, in their restorationist activities the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party and counter-revolutionary elements invariably collaborate with international imperialism, revisionism and reaction. Every day and every hour the imperialists and social-imperialists expect China to restore capitalism and the appearance of their agents inside the Chinese Communist Party. Haven't people like Brezhnev described Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and their ilk as "the healthy forces that represent China's real interests"? Similarly, both new and old bourgeoisie and their agents in the Party, vainly trying to restore capitalism in China, maintain ties with international imperialism, revisionism and reaction and eventually will fall into the arms of imperialism and social-imperialism. Lenin pointed out: "The class of exploiters, the landlords and capitalists, has not disappeared and cannot disappear all at once under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploiters have been smashed, but not destroyed. They still have an international base in the form of international capital, a branch of which they represent." ("Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat") This shows as long as imperialism and revisionism exist internationally, there are political and ideological origins in the country for generating capitalist roaders.

---

* See SPRCM No. 870.

The desire of the new and old bourgeoisie to restore capitalism is to be realized mainly through capitalist roaders in the Party pushing a revisionist line. And, to meet the needs of the new and old bourgeoisie at home and abroad and to change the proletarian dictatorship into a bourgeois dictatorship, the capitalist roaders in the Party invariably have to push a revisionist line. Practice in struggle since our country was founded proves that our struggle against the Party capitalist roaders in the main boils down to what line to follow. By adhering to a Marxist-Leninist line, we shall be able to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and advance along the socialist road. But by pushing the revisionist line, we will undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat and bring about a capitalist restoration. That is why Chairman Mao has taught us: "Guard against the emergence of revisionism, particularly revisionism from the Central Committee." The reason why revisionism that emerges from the Central Committee is most dangerous is that the capitalist roaders in the Party usurping Party and state power may use such power to enforce a revisionist line and radically alter the Party's basic line and the socialist system of proletarian dictatorship. At the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956, Khrushchev proposed a revisionist line to oppose the Leninist line. Internationally, this brought about an anti-communist and anti-popular adverse current, followed by the eruption of the counter-revolutionary incident in Hungary and all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. In China, following the basic victory of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, echoing Khrushchev, pushed the revisionist line, preached the theory of the dying out of class struggle, and called for a more liberal dictatorship of the proletariat and introduction of bourgeois freedom and democracy on a wider scale. This provoked the bourgeois Right to launch frenzied attacks against the Party. Teng Hsiao-p'ing has now again preached the theory of the dying out of class struggle, pushed the revisionist line, and instigated the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and a handful of class enemies to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. The counter-revolutionary political incident that occurred in T'ienanmen Square was an inevitable outcome of the revisionist line pushed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. The reason why a handful of counter-revolutionary elements tried so desperately to protect Teng Hsiao-p'ing is that Teng pursued a line that protects the interests of the landlords, the bourgeoisie and the revisionist high officials. Although Teng Hsiao-p'ing probably might not be acquainted with those desperadoes playing with fire, the line he pushed represented the interests of this handful of people. Thus, when Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line went bankrupt, they had to come forward to defend their agent with a frenzy increased a hundredfold.

Under the condition of proletarian dictatorship, the capitalist roaders, if they want to push a revisionist line that represents the interests of the landlord and bourgeois classes, are bound to run into opposition by the vast numbers of Party members, cadres and people. Awed by the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and afraid of truth and the masses, the capitalist roaders will necessarily disguise

themselves, behave deceptively, conspire and intrigue, waving a red flag to oppose the red flag and carrying out activities to oppose and split the Party. Teng Hsiao-p'ing is a past master of intrigue. Making something out of nothing, spreading rumors and slanders and sowing discord and fanning an ill wind, he just picked a number of unrelated issues and superficial manifestations and dealt with them one by one in isolation. He also formed factions for selfish ends, applauding a section of people and attacking another. He twisted and tampered with Chairman Mao's instructions and dished out the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link." Under the guise of "doing everything for the sake of modernization," he practiced the reactionary theory of productive forces. Shouting such slogans as "care for the quality of education" and "advance science and technology," he vainly tried to roll back the wheel of history in the spheres of education, science and technology. We of the proletariat must study the tactics of capitalist roaders like Teng Hsiao-p'ing so that we can completely vanquish them. We should avoid being too bookish. We must not be bewitched by the disguises of capitalist roaders nor view the complex class struggle in an over-simplified manner.

Lu Hsün once said, "If a person from the same camp disguises himself and stabs me in the back, my hatred and scorn for him exceed those for an open adversary." We must fully recognize that the Party capitalist roaders are the most dangerous enemies of the proletarian dictatorship, and we must resolutely fight against these dangerous adversaries.

Our struggle needs Marxism. To cope with the capitalist roaders, the most fundamental thing is to master Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and hold fast to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. By applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought -- the political telescope and microscope -- and by taking class struggle as the key link, we shall be able to see the essence through the appearance and identify the reactionary features of the capitalist roaders through their various disguises.

Marx pointed out: "Once theory is grasped by the masses, it will also turn into a material force." ("Introduction to 'A Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right'") To cope with capitalist roaders, we must rely on the vast revolutionary masses armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Without resorting to mass movements, things that involve a great number of people cannot be set in motion. Battling against the capitalist roaders is a prime matter bearing on the fundamental interests of the masses, on the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and this can only be undertaken by relying on the broad masses. Chairman Mao has said: "In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to express our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below." We have now found this form, namely, the great proletarian cultural revolution. Only by handing over Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to the broad masses and fully arousing them to unfold contending and

blooming through big-character posters and mass debates can we uncover the renegades, secret agents and capitalist roaders who sneaked into the Party and smash their plots to restore capitalism. We should not be deceived by the attractive disguises of capitalist roaders carrying the signboard of Communists and leading cadres. They can be quickly unmasked if we arouse the masses to expose them. Despite the capitalist roaders' outstretched tentacles and their formidable appearance of a "colossus," once the masses go into action, they will quickly become rats dashing across the street, with everyone shouting "Kill them."

The capitalist roaders are the bourgeoisie in the Party. As they spread out from inside the Party, their evolution generally takes a process, and as they push the revisionist line and are adept in deceiving people with false impressions, in a certain period they can often confound some people and make our struggle very complicated. As Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In the past, we fought north and south; it was easy to fight such wars. For the enemy was obvious. The present great proletarian cultural revolution is much more difficult than that kind of war." "The problem is that those who commit ideological errors are mixed up with those whose contradiction with us is one between ourselves and the enemy, and for a time it is hard to sort them out." Therefore, in our struggle against the capitalist roaders, we must strictly distinguish and correctly handle two different types of contradictions, help more people by educating them and narrow the target of attack. In dealing with good people who have made the mistakes of capitalist roaders, we must apply the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient" and help them mend their ways. Practice proves that the vast majority of Party members and cadres who made the mistakes of capitalist roaders during the great proletarian cultural revolution returned to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line after seriously studying Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and with the criticism and help of the masses. Only a very few unrepentant capitalist roaders, such as Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his ilk, continue to stubbornly stick to the capitalist road, and their contradiction with us eventually becomes an antagonistic contradiction. In our struggle against capitalist roaders, we must take account of different conditions and isolate to the maximum extent and strike at a handful of diehard capitalist roaders until they are completely discredited.

The task of the socialist revolution is to resolve the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, substitute proletarian dictatorship for the bourgeois dictatorship, use socialism to defeat capitalism, gradually create the conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or to arise anew, and ultimately realize communism. This involves a protracted historical course. Until this historical course is completed and the soil and conditions for generating capitalism are eliminated, capitalist roaders will continue to appear inside our Party. Even if the old capitalist roaders disappear, new ones will emerge. Capitalist roaders will be on the capitalist road as long as the historical period of socialism lasts. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "We have sung the Internationale for 50 years, and some people in our Party tried to split

it ten times. As I see it, they may try again another 10, 20 or 30 times. Don't you believe that? If you don't, I do." The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road; this is a social phenomenon that will exist for a long time in the historical period of socialism. Therefore, our struggle against the capitalist roaders is a protracted one. We must fully recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle, firmly establish the idea of battling the capitalist roaders over a long period of time, keep to the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and arouse the masses to expose and criticize capitalist roaders wherever they are found.

Historical experience has long proved that the road of restoration and regression the capitalist roaders take is a blind alley. The vast numbers of Party members, cadres and people want revolution and want to practice socialism. A handful of capitalist roaders are utterly isolated and are doomed to failure. Since our country was founded more than 20 years ago and particularly in the decade of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we have, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, continuously struggled against the capitalist roaders and continuously pushed the socialist revolution to develop in depth. In our present struggle against Teng Hsiao-p'ing, we have again won great victories. The struggle, however, will go on. We must seriously study the May 16, 1966 "Circular" of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao's instructions on continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We should display the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit and carry to completion the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. We should be prepared to go through tortuous paths and, with indomitable will and effort, uproot all pests and strive to realize the great ideals of communism.

* * *

Concentrate on Criticism of Teng, Promote Industrial Production

by

CCP Committee of Kaoch'iao Chemical Industrial Plant

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 5, May 14, 1976)

In a short span of several months, under the impetus of the great struggle to focus on the criticism of Teng and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, an excellent situation characterized by fighting in unity and soaring production has appeared in our plant as in other parts of the nation. Persistently taking class struggle as the key link, both cadres and workers have penetratingly criticized Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, heightened their awareness of the need to enforce Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, displayed more socialist revolutionary zeal, and created favorable political conditions for developing production with greater, faster, better and more economical results. In the first quarter of this year, the plant overfulfilled its state plan by 13.8 percent, showing a rise in output of 38.5 percent over the corresponding period last year, and records were set for the main economic indicators in comparison with similar quarters in history. Facts eloquently prove that the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts is the powerful engine for the development of production.

As the arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, hoisting the signboard of "everything for modernization," poked his fingers directly on the industrial and communications front in a bid to turn socialist industry into a basis for capitalist restoration. On the one hand, he spread such lies as "the picture is gloomy" and "longstanding habits are difficult to correct" on our country's economic front; on the other hand, disguising himself as an "economic expert" and posing as the savior, he peddled the revisionist stuff. The revisionist fallacies Teng disseminated on the industrial and communications front constitute a vital component part of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line he pushed for all-round restoration of capitalism. In the course of developing in depth the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind, the cadres and worker masses in our plant, in the context of the realities of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines on the economic front, penetratingly exposed and repudiated Teng Hsiao-p'ing's reactionary words and deeds aimed at restoration on the industrial and communications front and unmasked him as an "economic expert."

Didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing publicly express his views in favor of material incentives? This is revisionist trash, pure and simple. Hitting the nail on the head, the worker comrades pointed out: "Teng Hsiao-p'ing's absurd argument that our enthusiasm could be aroused only by relying on material incentives is the greatest insult to the working

class. Do we workers have money in mind in sweating to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat?" In Teng Hsiao-p'ing's eyes, money can buy the favor of god and bonuses are omnipotent. Through their personal experience, the worker comrades recognize that material incentives are a sort of bourgeois politics aimed at corroding the thinking of cadres and the masses and undermining the unity of the working class. They will never believe in material incentives. Highly lauding the creative power and initiative of the masses of people, Chairman Mao says: "The masses have potentially inexhaustible socialist enthusiasm." This socialist enthusiasm can be fully generated only through criticism of the revisionist line, criticism of bourgeois ideology, and criticism and restriction of bourgeois rights. Over the past few months, workers in our plant have worked against the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and material incentives, consciously supplied the urgent needs of the state, and carried heavy loads with the communist attitude toward labor. Many heart-warming deeds have appeared. When the workers of Workshop No. 5 learned that a fraternal unit was urgently in need of the chemical raw material, propylene oxide, they immediately volunteered to take on the task of increasing the output. By various means they tapped the potentials of the existing production equipment, raising the output of a shift from 3½ tons to 5 tons. Mass criticism has promoted work and much harder work. A forceful proof of this was the moving instance of thrice revising the production plan in our plant in February this year. The final revised version of the plan called for a rise in output of 16 percent compared with the original plan, but the actual output showed an increase of 26 percent over the original version. Hitting back at the Right deviation wind with concrete action , the worker comrades did not ask for more pay nor refuse to work overtime, and displayed the socialist spirit of masters. They said excitedly: "This is a powerful punch we of the working class delivered against material incentives advocated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing."

Didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing vehemently clamor for "control, checks and coercion"? In reality, this was an attempt to exercise bourgeois dictatorship over the workers. To impose "control, checks and coercion" on the workers with most rigid rules and regulations which even take the time of going to toilet into account is a bourgeois and revisionist method of enterprise management. Prior to the great cultural revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i did just that. In those days, under the influence of the revisionist line, in our plant also "rules are made by cadres, enforced by managerial personnel, and observed by workers." From the plant headquarters to workshops and shifts, every move of the worker was placed under restriction. Some laboratories were closed to the workers, the socialist enthusiasm of the workers was repressed, and the relations between cadres and the masses were strained. Since the start of the great cultural revolution, irrational rules and regulations have been gradually changed, the revisionist "control, checks and coercion" has come under fire, the position of the workers as masters of the enterprise has been established, and the outlook of enterprise management has been completely renewed. However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, with his deep-seated hatred for the great cultural revolution, clamored that

"management is chaotic," "the necessary rules and regulations are absent," it was necessary to "carry out an overall reorganization" in an attempt to restore the revisionist order of "control, checks and coercion." This fully shows that he is a deadly enemy of the working class. Criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's restorationist words and deeds has meant the vast numbers of cadres received a profound lesson on ideology and political line. They said with feeling: "Chairman Mao teaches us to wholeheartedly rely on the working class in operating the socialist enterprise well, and yet Teng Hsiao-p'ing clamors for 'control, checks and coercion' and takes workers as enemies. These are two basically antagonistic lines! We must never be fooled by Teng Hsiao-p'ing's attempt to corrupt the cadres with bourgeois rights, foster the workstyle of overlords and push cadres to a side opposite the workers." In addition, the Party committee organized the cadres to make a serious study of Chairman Mao's instructions concerning restriction of bourgeois rights, so they will consciously become promoters in restricting these rights and further adjust the relations between cadres and the masses. All the members of the Party committee take the lead in changing their workstyle, practice the "3-3 system" and go deep into the basic level and among the masses. Cadres of workshops persist in taking part in labor and carry out ideo-political work on the spot, during "the three shifts of the workers." Meanwhile, attention also has been given to continuously developing the new experience created in enterprise management since the start of the cultural revolution, and every effort has been bent toward creating a lively political situation.

Didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing do his best to trumpet the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace? By doing so, he pushed a revisionist line which is entirely antithetical to the policy of independence and self-reliance. Teng Hsiao-p'ing has only made himself look like a slavish comprador from head to toe by hoisting the signboard of "everything for modernization," by openly pinning hope for the realization of four modernizations on foreign countries, by clamoring for "bringing out more things to exchange for the latest and the best equipment of foreign countries," and by shamelessly advertising this as a "major policy." Recalling the history of the founding of our plant, the workers strongly condemn Teng Hsiao-p'ing's slavish comprador philosophy. Our plant was established in 1958 as a petrochemical plant in accordance with Chairman Mao's policy of "independence and self-reliance." Prior to the great cultural revolution, three instances of "dismounting" appeared due to the interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. It was only after the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao was criticized during the cultural revolution that our plant developed at a rapid pace. The 1975 output value was 12 times that of 1965 before the cultural revolution, and the range of products increased 3½ times. How did we achieve these results? By relying on independence and self-reliance. Thus, criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's slavish comprador philosophy in light of our plant's experience has further heightened our consciousness of following the line of independence and self-reliance. The worker comrades indicated: Kaoch'iao Chemical Plant was built by self-reliance, so we must promote the spirit of revolution

plus the death-defying spirit and make new contributions toward developing China's petrochemical industry.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing opposes Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and we must oppose his counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The great leader Chairman Mao has formulated the line and a series of principles and policies for our country's socialist revolution and construction. Like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-p'ing frantically opposes Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies for the purpose of restoring capitalism. Through practice in the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind and through criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and his revisionist fallacies spread on the economic front, we have hardened our determination to enforce Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Holding aloft the banner of the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," we seriously summed up the experiences in strengthening Party leadership, putting politics in command, launching mass movements, practicing "two-participation, one reform and three-in-one combination," and developing technical innovation. The cadres have set up the idea that the workers are masters of socialist enterprises and that they themselves must wholeheartedly rely on the working class. They have further adjusted the relationship between the leadership and the masses. For their part, the worker masses have further raised their consciousness of class and line struggles, carrying out socialist revolution and production as masters, and continuously developing the excellent situation since the start of the cultural revolution.

Aren't some people worried that the struggle against the Right deviationist wind may affect production? Facts prove that such a misgiving is groundless. The excellent situation in revolution and production in our plant has come about in the course of the struggle against Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the Right deviationist wind. In early April, a handful of class enemies openly engineered a counter-revolutionary political incident at T'ienanmen Square, airing grievances on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's behalf and vainly trying to reverse the general orientation of criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Their counter-revolutionary scheme did not in the slightest shake the general orientation of the masses criticizing Teng; on the contrary, it aroused extreme proletarian indignation of the working class. Vast numbers of workers and cadres, in the days of implementing the two resolutions of the Party Central Committee, intensified their criticism of Teng, the common target of attack. Taking hold of this teacher by negative example, they penetratingly criticized and denounced Teng's reactionary crimes and the sabotage activities of a handful of class enemies. The worker masses unanimously indicated: "We must shoulder the heavy loads of revolution and production and make outstanding achievements to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and smash the restorationist schemes of class enemies." In April, the situation in our plant was even more encouraging: the state plan was overfulfilled by 9.7 percent, a rise in output of 81.5 percent over the comparable period last year. We are resolved to seriously study

a series of important instructions issued by Chairman Mao, concentrate the fire of criticism against Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and carry the great struggle against the Right deviationist wind through to the end.

* * *

How We Have Fought Against Political Rumors

by

Party Branch of Water-Supply Fleet of the Fuel Depot
under the Marine Transport Bureau

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 5, May 14, 1976)

Before and after last summer, under the instigation of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, a handful of class enemies spread counter-revolutionary political rumors on a wide scale, whipping up the adverse current of the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. And after the struggle against this attempt was initiated, they forged the so-called "Chairman Mao's directives," "central documents," "the Premier's will," "speeches by central leaders," etc. The aim was to sabotage and interfere with the general orientation of the struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. We who work on water-supply boats of the water-supply fleet of the fuel depot under the Marine Transport Bureau, battling on the Huangpu River all year round and having great mobility, heard a lot of political rumors. The boatmen of Water-Supply Boat No. 8, maintaining a high degree of revolutionary vigilance, saw the sinister motive behind these rumors of class enemies. They said: "We must hit back firmly and expose these rumors. We must not allow the boat of revolution to sail off course." With extreme proletarian indignation, the boatmen waged a resolute struggle against counter-revolutionary political rumors. Our Party branch, taking hold of this typical case, led the Party members and the rank and file of the entire fleet to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, armed with a series of important directives given by Chairman Mao as a sharp weapon. Teng was criticized in depth, revolutionary public opinion was used to smash counter-revolutionary public opinion, the voyage of revolution was held steady, and new victories were scored in grasping revolution and promoting production.

The practice of struggle over the past several months tells us that in order to effectively smash political rumors, the basic thing is to seriously study Chairman Mao's important directives, firmly grasp the general orientation of struggle, and concentrate the fire of criticism against Teng. Where the criticism of Teng is handled well, there will be no market for rumors; where such criticism is handled badly, rumors will spread unchecked. Didn't a handful of bad people say that "Teng Hsiao-p'ing is in charge of the work of the Central Committee" and "the people of the whole country are pleased with this"? In fact, if only we fully expose Teng Hsiao-p'ing's crimes of reversing verdicts and restoring capitalism and his counter-revolutionary revisionist line, we can at once see through these deceptive talks. Teng Hsiao-p'ing vainly tries to restore the old order, but "reversing verdicts goes against the will of the people," and he finds himself extremely isolated among the people of the whole country. Only a handful of class enemies applaud and openly support him. This shows

that only by fully mobilizing the masses to grasp the general orientation of criticism of Teng and continuously enhancing their ability to recognize the revisionist line is it possible to raise their consciousness of enforcing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Thus, when political rumors strike, the broad masses will be able to keep to the general orientation of revolution, promptly discern and resist political rumors, and go on travelling along the right lane despite the fog.

The masses of boatmen also made a penetrating analysis of the inner connection between political rumors and Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. This enabled them to understand that political rumors are an organic part of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's activities to reverse verdicts, and represent a counter-revolutionary trend of thought. Their roots lie with capitalist roaders on the top and class enemies in society at the bottom. And the general manager of the rumor-mongering company is Teng Hsiao-p'ing. The fabrication of political rumors is part of the overall process of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. Our boatmen generalized the trilogy of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's rumor-mongering: When Teng Hsiao-p'ing was on the offensive, he directed several persons at Tsinghua University who clung to the revisionist line to write letters of false accusations with the spearhead directed at our great leader Chairman Mao and with the aim of opening a breach here; when Teng was on the retreat, he used political rumors as cover, obliterated the class content and class essence of the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind, distorted the nature of the struggle, and shifted the general orientation of struggle; when he failed, he regarded rumors as the last straw for a desperate struggle. A handful of bad elements made trouble and fermented counter-revolutionary violence either by shifting the blame onto others or by spreading slanders and deception till they engineered the counter-revolutionary political incident at T'ienanmen Square in an attempt to present Teng Hsiao-p'ing as Hungary's Nagy. As a result of their analysis, the boatmen came to realize that the appearance of those counter-revolutionary political rumors was not an accidental, isolated phenomenon, but a sharp reflection of the current struggle between the two classes and two lines. They repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's teaching: "All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all freaks and demons should be criticized and they must never be allowed to spread unchecked." They said pointedly: "Political rumors are a dirty weapon used by Teng Hsiao-p'ing to stir up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. We revolutionary people must thoroughly uncover them and resolutely ban the free market for rumors."

Having caught Teng Hsiao-p'ing the general boss of rumor-mongering, we then further mobilized the masses to concentrate the fire of criticism against him and launch an offensive battle to smash counter-revolutionary political rumors. The workers theoretical contingent played the role of a dagger squad. They compiled quotations from the mentors of the revolution on criticism of political rumors and provided the masses of boatmen with a weapon for criticism. They collected material concerning how past revisionist chieftains pushed the revisionist

line by rumors and used it as teaching material by negative example. They put out war bulletins, blackboard papers and mass criticism columns and held criticism meetings regularly. Led by the theoretical contingent, the masses of boatmen, though they work separately, concentrated the fire of criticism against Teng and acted positively to repulse the Right deviationist wind.

In the course of this struggle, the boatmen not only did not believe in rumors nor help spread them, but, through their analysis of the rumors by the capitalist roaders and class enemies, further recognized certain laws governing class and line struggles. In light of the teachings of the mentors of revolution, they looked back on the history of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, seeing that rumors and slanders had always been the reactionary classes' "tool for political struggle and political reprisals." (Lenin, "Political Blackmail") Opportunist chieftains within the Party likewise inherited the rumor-mongering mantle of the reactionary classes. Liu Shao-ch'i and company openly spread rumors when cooking up the "February Outline." Lin Piao clamored that the "important task" of restoration should be accomplished by "telling lies" and creating rumors. At the 2nd Plenum of the 9th Party Central Committee, Lin Piao ganged up with Ch'en Po-ta in mounting a rumor offensive. Now that Teng Hsiao-p'ing has taken this dirty weapon of rumor-mongering, it shows that he has taken the old road of the opportunist chieftains in history. In trying to reverse the verdicts on the great cultural revolution and settle account with it, he does not have the support of the people and cannot be open and aboveboard. All he can do is to seek the help of political rumors to confound black and white and cover up the facts and the truth. In short, like successive opportunist chieftains, Teng Hsiao-p'ing cannot but live on rumors once he has lost the political debate.

In order to smash political rumors effectively, we have given special attention to uncovering and criticizing the reactionary political purposes of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his gang in wilfully creating rumors. Lu Hsün said rightly: "Rumors are indeed expected by the rumor-mongers to become facts, and we may seize this as an opportunity to look at the thinking and action of a number of people." From a large number of facts, the boatmen saw that spreading political rumors is an important component part of class enemies' counter-revolutionary plan for restoration. Didn't rumors spread like stray bullets on the eve of the counter-revolutionary riot in Hungary? Didn't the Lin Piao anti-Party clique spread rumors on a wide scale for the purpose of staging a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat? This shows that from political rumors one can observe the trends of class struggle and the criminal design and counter-revolutionary tactics of class enemies. Hitting the nail on the head, the boatmen pointed out that despite the variety of rumors in society and the changeability of tactics in creating them, from first to last the spearhead was directed at one point: viciously attack the great leader Chairman Mao, vainly attempt to split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, attack Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and embellish in all possible ways Teng Hsiao-p'ing's

counter-revolutionary revisionist line and his activities to reverse verdicts and restore the old order. When Teng's frantic offensive was being launched, all sorts of rumors aimed at embellishing Teng Hsiao-p'ing arose, casting him virtually in the role of the "savior." Hsüeh Pao-chai in Dream of the Red Chamber once made this remark: "May the good wind send me to the blue heaven!" Teng Hsiao-p'ing, too, wanted to fly up to the sky with the help of the wind of rumors, and this reflected what the rumor-mongers hoped would become a fact: subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. The counter-revolutionary political incident engineered by a handful of class enemies at T'ienanmen Square was angrily condemned by the boatmen, who said: "Behind the smoke-screen of political rumors, a handful of counter-revolutionary elements 'unsheathed their words.' We must raise the iron fists of the dictatorship of the proletariat and sweep away this handful of counter-revolutionaries!"

We must not only boycott and refute rumors, but must also mobilize the masses with a free hand to track them down. We use such means as the leadership taking the lead, holding individual talks, group study and organizing propaganda in making known to everybody the reactionary nature and danger of the political rumors created by class enemies, and acquaint the masses with the vital significance of tracking down the rumors. Where rumors originated and spread, we mobilized the masses there to trace them strictly. In the course of investigation, we strictly differentiate and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions. The fact that a small number of people were taken in by rumors was primarily because they did not have a high degree of consciousness of class and line struggles. Because of this, we put the emphasis on ideo-political education and guided them to continue raising their consciousness in the course of uncovering and criticizing rumors. Meanwhile, firm blows were dealt to a handful of class enemies who created rumors and made trouble. The masses are the real heroes. Under the Party's leadership, the masses of boatmen apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the mirror to trace the connection between political rumors and Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in respect to content, nature and counter-revolutionary purposes as well as tracing the connection between political rumors and a handful of class enemies. In these circumstances, there can hardly be a hiding place for bad people.

In this struggle, the boatmen repeatedly studied Lenin's teaching: "In these days when rumors and slanders against the Bolsheviks are getting more and more severe, we should remain even cooler, refute the rumors and slanders, observe the historical ties of events and the political significance, namely, class significance, of the current progress of the revolution." ("The Three Crises") Having studied the ties between the current two-line struggle and past similar struggles and having studied a series of important directives given by Chairman Mao concerning repulsing the Right deviationist wind, all of us gradually recognized the great significance of this struggle. Many comrades in the course of practice have come to understand still more clearly that

our struggle against Teng Hsiao-p'ing is a continuation and deepening of the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, a continuation and deepening of the great cultural revolution. The deeper the criticism of Teng goes, the more clearly will the nature of Teng's counter-revolutionary revisionist line be revealed, and the more clearly the masses will discern the deceptive and reactionary nature of all sorts of rumors. The struggle has educated the masses. The proletarian political atmosphere of the entire fleet has become stronger, with everyone showing concern for the major affairs of the state. The channels for the circulation of rumors have been closed, and a brand-new phase has set in for revolution and production. The boatmen have plunged into the struggle to criticize Teng with greater vigor. They strongly condemn rumors where they appear -- in the course of supplying water, in the public, in their own homes and in the neighborhood.

At present, the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing, beat back the Right deviationist wind and track down the counter-revolution is developing vehemently. Revolutionary scenes of fighting in unity have emerged throughout the nation. But class struggle has not come to an end. As long as there is still class struggle between opposing classes, political rumors will not disappear. As Lu Hsün said, "Rumor-mongers are most shameless and ingenious. Once facts show that they lie, they will hide themselves, and there comes another group." A handful of class enemies emerge from their shells and then retreat back into them, but they have never ceased creating rumors by all sorts of tactics. To smash political rumors spread by class enemies is a vital aspect of the struggle against the old and new bourgeoisie and their agents within the Party. At present, a handful of class enemies still want to continue to make trouble; "they may, by using and twisting our policies, deliberately put forward unreasonable demands to incite the masses or create rumors to disrupt the normal social order." The answer to this from our revolutionary people is: where rumors are spread and trouble is made by counter-revolutionaries, there we will track them down and ferret them out, and firmly impose the dictatorship of the proletariat on them.

* * *

The Moscow Red Square Incident in the 1920's

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 5, May 14, 1976)

November 7, 1927 was a fine, sunny day in Moscow. Up to a million workers and other laboring people were staging spectacular parades at the Red Square and in various main streets to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution and hail the victory of socialism. That day, the counter-revolutionaries who were unreconciled to their defeat also turned out in full force. They first quietly slipped into some factories to incite the workers to take to the street and shout oppositionist slogans or ask them simply to stay away from the parades. And when the parades began, they went to the Red Square and main streets to disrupt the parade contingents, distributing reactionary leaflets and delivering counter-revolutionary speeches. Everywhere they hung out portraits of Trotsky and Zinoviev, and in the wildest language called for the opportunist chieftains Trotsky and Zinoviev to take the "leadership." Instantly, dark clouds were looming over the Red Square.

Was the Red Square incident engineered by the counter-revolutionaries an accidental affair? Certainly not. It had deep internal and external root causes. The victory of the 1917 October Revolution made the Soviet Union the first socialist country in the world. After the October Revolution, the Soviet working class continued to follow Lenin's proletarian revolutionary line, developed the socialist revolution and construction on all fronts, and opened up the broad path toward communism. This was most gratifying to the working class and all laboring people, but to all exploiting classes at home and abroad, it was nothing but a death knell! So, the imperialist powers in the world joined hands in carrying out armed intervention and an economic blockade against the new Soviet regime. Inside the country rich peasants, white bandits and capitalists acted in concert and perpetrated every evil deed from engaging in speculation and creating famine to sabotaging factory production. Inside the Party the capitalist roaders in power also mounted one attack after another against the Party. Thus, the Red Square incident took place under the situation where the bourgeoisie inside and outside the country and inside and outside the Party colluded with one another to counter the socialist revolution. In May 1927, the British bourgeois government unilaterally announced the severing of its diplomatic and commercial ties with the Soviet Union. The Trotsky-Zinoviev alliance also took the opportunity to step up its attack against the Party and, without authorization, distributed the so-called "Political Program of 83" among the Party members. This program opposed the Party's decision on striving to win the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, ridiculed the policy of socialist industrialization, and demanded that group after group of factories be leased to foreign nationals; it laughed at the policy of drawing the peasants into participation in socialist construction, and propagated the inevitable outbreak of "insoluble conflicts" between the working class and the peasantry. In October the same year,

when this downright anti-Leninist program was vetoed as a matter of course, the bourgeoisie hatched the plot of creating counter-revolutionary disturbances by using the celebration of the October Revolution.

Judging by the large number of facts uncovered by the worker masses after the incident, the attack launched by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat during the Red Square incident was most blatant. The slogan of the counter-revolutionary hooligans was: "Mobilize all discontented non-Party people to join the parades!" As was expected, old and new bourgeois elements in society, desperadoes and oppositionists gathered together under this black banner of counter-revolution. Many remnants of white bandits and bourgeois elements got into underground printing plants while planning the Red Square incident. With the lead type stolen from the "Leningrad Pravda," they printed a large quantity of anti-Soviet leaflets. In the course of the Red Square incident, those who jumped out to distribute reactionary leaflets, shout reactionary slogans and deliver reactionary speeches were mainly these people and oppositionist elements of the lower stratum. They were most frantic. A man called Alisky, a Blundist (namely, a member of the counter-revolutionary Jewish Social-Democratic Association) stood at the terrace of the "Paris Restaurant" in Moscow, making an anti-communist speech. Some people were madly drawing reactionary caricature on the walls of many buildings, presenting the Soviet Communist Party (B) as a prisoner heavily fettered. Whenever workers in the parade hailed "Long live Lenin's Party Central Committee," this gang of rioters joined with rascals in the street shouting abusive language and reactionary slogans. These reactionaries practically left no stone unturned in seeking to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat! Facts once again confirmed the truth pointed out by Lenin: Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, "the exploiters, though vanquished, have not yet been wiped out." "Their resistance has grown by a thousand-fold just because of their defeat." ("Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat") Kaizin (盖尔欠), a henchman of the oppositionists, at the time of inciting the hooligans, said shamelessly: "You may bring along your wives to the parade. If you don't have wives, then bring along your lovers, children, mothers and fathers." Such wild language from people who were determined to fight it to the death fully demonstrated the resistance of the routed bourgeoisie, which "has grown a thousand-fold."

The Red Square incident accorded class enemies of all kinds, including those opportunist chieftains who sneaked into the Party, an opportunity to show themselves off. Didn't the entire Red Square incident seek to reverse the verdict on the criticism of Trotsky and Zinoviev? Didn't the counter-revolutionary rioters shout out such extremely despicable slogans like "Long live the world leaders -- Zinoviev and Trotsky"? As a matter of fact, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and their like were the chief backstage bosses of the Red Square incident. It was they who hatched secret plans, stirred up trouble everywhere, peddled the anti-Party "Political Program of 83," opposed the Leninist line, and incited the Party members to tear their

Party cards into pieces and split the Bolshevik Party. It was also they who, after pulling the strings behind the scenes, finally went to the battle stripped to the waists. The counter-revolutionary mobilization meeting attended by Kaizin who incited the hooligans to take to the street was held in the home of Yevtaokimov (叶弗道基莫夫), one of the chieftains of the Trotsky-Zinoviev alliance. The counter-revolutionary leaflets printed at underground printing plants even bore the signatures of such persons as Trotsky. Among the so-called "portraits of leaders," Trotsky and Zinoviev, which were used to recruit followers during the Red Square incident, several were hung by the "leaders" themselves outside the windows of their own houses by the side of the street. Judging from the fact that the counter-revolutionary hooligans risked their lives to protect the opportunist chieftains, one could see still more clearly the important role played by the latter on the counter-revolutionary chess game. According to the participants in the parade at that time, when the worker comrades in the parade saw that portraits of Trotsky and Zinoviev were hung on the third floor of a big building and were about to climb up to tear them down, "a person appeared on the rooftop and bent his back in spite of the danger of falling to the ground laying a wire hook" to protect the portraits, while another hooligan risked his life and dangled himself outside the window on the third floor like an "acrobat" to take the hook. The fact that the counter-revolutionary hooligans risked their lives to protect the capitalist roaders in the Party precisely showed that the latter were the most dangerous enemies of the revolutionary people! As was pointed out by the Resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party (B) concerning the Red Square incident, "the principal leaders of this incident which apparently developed into anti-Party activities to oppose the Soviet and sabotage the dictatorship of the proletariat were Trotsky and Zinoviev."

The shocking facts of the Red Square incident showed that capitalist roaders within the Party always breathed from the same nostrils with the bourgeoisie and freaks and demons in society. At all times the proletariat must carry out a resolute struggle against those class enemies who opposed the leadership of the Communist Party, endangered the dictatorship of the proletariat, disrupted the socialist economy and carried out all sorts of disruptive activities including fighting, smashing and looting. However, just as "a snake cannot crawl without its head and a bird cannot fly without its head," capitalist roaders in the Party like Trotsky were the "snake heads" of all the capitalist restorationist forces and were the most dangerous enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was not only because they usurped part of the power of the Party and the state and could push a counter-revolutionary revisionist line from top to bottom, but also because, at a time when the landlords and capitalists had already been totally discredited, these people could more easily deceive people by raising the banner of "communists" and "leading cadres" and restore capitalism in the name of socialism. Just as Lenin pointed out, "It is far better for activists of the opportunist faction within the workers' movement to safeguard the bourgeoisie than for the property holders to come out themselves to do so." ("Second Congress of the Communist International")

The capitalist roaders in the Party, by their participation in the Red Square incident demonstrated that they always used alternately all sorts of counter-revolutionary tactics. When the opportunist chieftains thought that they were certain of success in restoring the old order, capitalist restoration would take the form of peaceful evolution, as it was basically done by the chieftains of the Trotsky-Zinoviev alliance before the Red Square incident. But once counter-revolutionary peaceful evolution was resisted, they would madly resort to drastic measures and bare their fascist features. Why was the Trotsky-Zinoviev Bloc so anxious and impatient in creating the Red Square incident? This should be observed from the Party vote on the "Political Program of 83" one month before the incident. The results of the ballot showed that 724,000 Party members were in favor of the policies of the Party Central Committee while only 4,000, or less than one percent, were in favor of the Trotsky-Zinoviev alliance. Under these circumstances the Trotsky-Zinoviev alliance had to take chance and so the Red Square incident occurred. Lenin said: "Opportunists are bourgeois elements who oppose the proletarian revolution. During a period of peace these people stay within the workers' political party and secretly do the bourgeois work. But during a period of crisis, they immediately become the public allies (from the conservative to the most radical and the democratic, from the liberal to the religious and clerical) of the entire bourgeoisie." ("What Is To Be Done?") Didn't Trotsky, Zinoviev and their like act in a like manner?

The Red Square incident also told us that the day when capitalist roaders in the Party acted like a mad dog jumping over the wall was the moment when they would perish. The disturbances they planned failed to frighten the revolutionary people; on the contrary, these stripped off their masks in front of the people and landed them in utter isolation. The Soviet workers angrily denounced the counter-revolutionary disturbances as aimed at "serving Sohalevka (苏哈列夫卡)" -- didn't this imply that the laboring people would be oppressed by the merchants and capitalists again? Could this be permitted? So, the hooligan who delivered a reactionary speech at the "Paris Restaurant" in Moscow was greeted with "angry roars" and "apples and shoes thrown from below the terrace." The oppositionist elements who went to factories to incite workers were sternly condemned by the latter. Even Zinoviev and other chieftains who regarded themselves as all mighty had to be rescued from the angry mobs with the help of the people's police. At that time "Pravda" commented on the Red Square incident created by the counter-revolutionaries: "They did not gain anything at all." This was not strange. Every Rightist coup is always "short-lived because it will not be tolerated by all revolutionaries who represent the interests of over 90 percent of the people." This is precisely the basic reason why the Red Square incident of yesterday and the T'ienanmen Square incident of today could gain nothing and failed instantly. Of course, there was "gain" too, but that belonged to the revolutionary people. The brave Soviet workers learned a deep lesson from the Red Square incident and raised their consciousness of class and line struggles; time and again

they frustrated the counter-attacks by the Trotsky-Zinoviev Bloc in subsequent struggles and finally threw them into the dustbin of history.

However, the struggle has not come to an end. The proletariat must never forget its struggle against the capitalist roaders in the Party. The Red Square incident was history, but it proved that historical experience must not be lightly forgotten. In the international communist movement for the last half a century, bloody lessons caused by the failure to remember this point have been really too profound! "We must not forget to learn from the past as a guide for the future." In the current deepening struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing, beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and track down counter-revolution, reviewing the history of the Red Square incident 50 years ago in connection with the T'ienanmen Square incident will help us raise our consciousness of the struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party, further recognize the capitalist roaders as the main target of the socialist revolution, and carry the socialist revolution to its victorious completion.

* * *

The Bankruptcy of the Theory of Productive Forces As Seen from the History of Agricultural Cooperativization in Our Country

by

Shih Wei (石伟)

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 2, April 20, 1976)

Before and after the summer of 1975, the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing dished up the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" in order to negate taking class struggle as the key link, alter the Party's basic line and restore capitalism. The reactionary theory of productive forces serves in this case as a theoretical basis of this program.

The theory of productive forces has been used as an obsolete weapon by both old and new revisionists to negate the Marxist thesis of class struggle and to oppose the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. As early as the early period of the Chinese Communist Party, Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Liu Shao-ch'i had said that China's industry was backward and the level of production was low, that the proletariat "is very childish" and "is not an independent revolutionary force." They were against the proletariat leading the democratic revolution and seizing political power. Following the proletariat's capture of state power and particularly after the land reform, Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang again trumpeted the theory of productive forces, opposed continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and vainly tried to make new China take the road of developing capitalism.

During the movement of cooperative transformation of agriculture in our country, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao consistently did their best to trumpet the theory of productive forces and to oppose and undermine the cooperative transformation of agriculture. Before the socialist transformation of agriculture was completed, they exerted their utmost to protect and develop the rich peasant economy and oppose the cooperative movement; and following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture, they tried by every means to disintegrate the socialist collective economy in a futile attempt to restore capitalism.

Applying the Marxist principle concerning the dialectical relationship between the relations of production and productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base, our great leader Chairman Mao severely criticized the theory of productive forces. As early as 1943, he issued the great call "Get organized" to the vast numbers of peasants in the liberated areas. On the eve of the founding of New China, Chairman Mao again pointed out: "The crucial question is education of the peasants." "Without the socialization of agriculture there will be no total and consolidated socialism." Since our country was established, Chairman Mao has reiterated time and again the need to gradually eliminate capitalist exploitation in the countryside, transform the individual peasant economy, cautiously

and in gradual stages lead the peasant masses to take the road of cooperativization, and establish the socialist relations of production in agriculture so as to carry the socialist revolution in the rural areas to its completion. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and taking the road of forming mutual aid teams, cooperatives and people's communes, the peasant masses in our country gradually embarked on the bright socialist road. The rural socialist position has been increasingly consolidated with each passing day and the collective economy developed without interruption.

Reviewing the history of the cooperative transformation of agriculture in our country in retrospect and repudiating the crimes of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao in preaching the theory of productive forces and undermining the cooperative transformation of agriculture is of vital and immediate significance to our current deep criticism of the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing's advocacy of the theory of productive forces and our efforts to uphold class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line and carry the socialist revolution in the countryside to its completion.

I. To Develop Mutual Aid and Cooperation Or the Rich Peasant Economy?

The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 symbolized the basic completion of the new democratic revolution and the beginning of the period of the socialist revolution. On the eve of nationwide liberation, Chairman Mao in his report to the 2nd Plenary Session of the 7th Party Central Committee analyzed the class relations in the forthcoming socialist revolution and clearly pointed out that the principal contradiction in the country "is the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." He also laid down the line and policies for our Party in effecting the transition from the new democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. On the question of individual peasant economy, Chairman Mao pointed out concretely: "We must prudently, gradually and positively guide the scattered individual peasant economy and handicraft economy, which comprise 90 percent of the total production value of the national economy, to develop along modern and collective lines. Taking a laissez faire attitude toward them is wrong." After the land reform, there were already signs of polarity in rural China. Land transactions after the land reform, according to the statistics of eleven counties in Hopei Province, came to 43,890 mow in 1949, rising to 54,494 mow in 1950 and to 115,188 mow in 1951. In Hsipu brigade, Tsunhua county, Hopei, despite the provision of state relief over the years during the period from the land reform to 1952, there were still eleven poor and lower-middle peasant households which sold in total 74 mow of land, six households which mortgaged 15 cottages, and four households which had to go begging in other places. As Chairman Mao said, "Everybody has seen that in recent years the spontaneous forces of capitalism in the countryside have been on the rise from day to day, with new rich peasants springing up everywhere and many well-to-do middle peasants striving to become rich peasants. On the other hand, many poor peasants are still living in poverty for lack of sufficient means of production, with some in debt and others selling or renting out their land." If

this tendency went unchecked, the polarization in the countryside would inevitably be aggravated day by day. Peasants would be in danger of losing the fruits of victory they acquired during the land reform. Those peasants who lost their land and those who remained in poverty would complain that the working class did nothing to save them from ruin or help them overcome their difficulties. Nor would those well-to-do middle peasants who were heading in the capitalist direction be pleased because the working class was unable to satisfy their demands for developing capitalism. As a result, the worker-peasant alliance would be in danger of being disrupted, and the dictatorship of the proletariat would not be consolidated. Therefore, Chairman Mao pointed out: We must "bring about, step by step, the socialist transformation of the whole of agriculture, namely cooperation, eliminate the rich peasant economic system and the individual economic system in the countryside, and enable the whole of the rural population to attain common affluence."

However, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, citing the reactionary theory of productive forces as a theoretical basis, did their utmost to oppose mutual aid and cooperation and advocated the development of the rich peasant economy. They disapproved of mutual aid and cooperation on the ground that the productive forces in rural China were backward; they declared that "collective farms" could be introduced only after the rural productive forces had attained the development stage in which "peasant households each owning three horses, one plow and one cart" reached "80 percent" of the total. Openly defying Chairman Mao's instruction that the individual agricultural economy must not be allowed to "take its own natural course," they advocated the "four major freedoms" (freedom of hiring labor, freedom of buying and selling land, freedom of borrowing and lending, and freedom of trade). They blatantly declared: "Hiring labor and individual farming should be given a free hand." They encouraged "going it alone" so "more rich peasants can be engendered." Decrying "restrictions," they shouted furiously: "Those who prohibit hiring farmhands and going it alone should not be given a free hand." In 1951,when the peasant masses in Shansi and other areas called for the transition of mutual aid teams to cooperatives, Liu Shao-ch'i, without Chairman Mao's knowledge, went so far as to dish up a black directive reading: "In the countryside after the land reform, in the course of economic development, the spontaneous peasant forces and class divisions have begun to manifest themselves. Some comrades inside the Party express fear of these spontaneous forces and class divisions and attempt to stop or avert them. They have the fancy idea of using labor mutual-aid teams and supply and marketing cooperatives as a means of arresting or averting this tendency. Some people suggest shaking and curbing, step by step, and eventually negating the basis of private ownership and elevating agricultural producers mutual-aid teams to agricultural producers cooperatives, using this as a new factor to 'defeat the spontaneous elements of the peasants.' This is an erroneous, dangerous and utopian idea of agricultural socialism."

Our great leader Chairman Mao resolutely hit back at the theory of productive forces preached by Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk and their reactionary line of opposing mutual aid and cooperation and favoring the development of the rich peasant economy. In December 1951, he personally presided over the

formulation of the "Decision on the Movement of the Agricultural Producers Mutual Aid and Cooperation." The "Decision" first made a Marxist analysis of the individual peasants and pointed out that the peasants after the land reform displayed two kinds of enthusiasm -- enthusiasm for developing the individual economy as private owners and enthusiasm for mutual aid and cooperation as laborers. The "Decision" pointed out that after land reform in rural China was completed the Party must actively lead the peasants to take the road of mutual aid and cooperation in line with the principles of voluntariness and mutual benefit. It criticized the Liu Shao-ch'i gang's Right opportunist fallacies and said: "Rejecting the various kinds of agricultural producers cooperatives that have appeared as a form of transition to the socialist transformation of agriculture and denying their having socialist elements -- this is a Right deviationist, erroneous notion." The "Decision" affirmed mutual aid and cooperation as "a form of transition toward socialist agriculture" -- "a vibrant and promising form," "fraught with positive significance." The "Decision" also praised the victory of the mutual aid and cooperation movement, pointing out that 60-70 percent of the peasant households in the North China and Northeast regions had joined mutual-aid organizations and that more than 300 cooperatives had been set up in both regions. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the agricultural mutual aid and cooperative movement made more rapid progress in various parts of the country. By the end of 1952, peasant households which joined mutual-aid teams throughout the land accounted for over 40 percent of the nation's total, with 3,600 primary agricultural producers cooperatives having already been formed. The rapid development of the mutual aid and cooperative movement thus proclaimed the bankruptcy of the reactionary theory of productive forces preached by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, illustrating that the broad peasant masses in our country, particularly the poor and lower-middle peasants, actively supported the mutual aid and cooperative movement and urgently demanded continuous progress along the socialist road. It also showed that taking the capitalist road went against the will of the people and only socialism could save China.

II. "Mount Quickly" or "Dismount Quickly"?

In 1953, under the excellent situation characterized by the basic rehabilitation of the national economy and the universal development of agricultural mutual aid and cooperation, whether to "mount quickly" or "dismount quickly" -- that is, whether to actively lead the cooperative movement and push the socialist revolution in the rural areas to a new stage or to stifle the cooperative movement and take the capitalist road -- was the focal point of the struggle at that time between the two classes, two roads and two lines.

At the end of 1952, Chairman Mao promptly put forth the Party's general line and general task during the transition period. This called for "gradual realization in a fairly long period of time of the country's socialist industrialization and of a state-sponsored program for the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce." The Party's general line for the transition period embodied in essence the evolving of the socialist system of ownership by the entire people and collective

ownership by the toiling masses into the only economic base in our country, to be achieved through the transformation of the individual economy and private capitalist economy. The worker-peasant alliance would be built on a new basis and the dictatorship of the proletariat further consolidated. In an important talk delivered in June 1953 on the general line for the transition period, Chairman Mao said: "After the success of the democratic revolution, some people still remain where they were. They don't know the changed character of the revolution and are still engaged in their 'new democracy,' instead of practicing socialist transformation. This will result in Right deviationist mistakes. In terms of agriculture, the socialist road is the only road for China's agriculture. Developing the mutual aid and cooperative movement and continuously raising agricultural productivity is the focus of the Party's rural work." This instruction of Chairman Mao's thoroughly criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's reactionary program and line of "five kinds of economic cooperation and consolidating the new democratic system," besides profoundly expounding the decisive effect of establishing and developing the socialist relations of production in the rural areas on developing the productive forces.

Under the illumination of the Party's general line for the transition period, vast numbers of poor and lower-middle peasants displayed soaring socialist enthusiasm as they had never done before. With the rapid development of the semi-socialist primary agricultural producers cooperatives, by the end of 1953 approximately more than 47,900,000 peasant households joined provisional or regular mutual-aid teams and agricultural producers coopratives, with the number of cooperatives rising to over 14,000, a 46 times increase compared with slightly more than 300 in 1951.

The rapid development of the movement of cooperative transformation of agriculture aroused considerable fears of Liu Shao-ch'i and company. Flaunting the tattered banner of the theory of productive forces, they viciously attacked the movement as "rash and reckless," "avaricious and grandiose" and "not basing on the experience of the masses and the extent and requirements of the development of productive forces." Without Chairman Mao's knowledge, they forced those peasants who had already joined the cooperatives to "withdraw from the cooperatives and change the groups" and disbanded large numbers of newly set up cooperatives in a vain attempt to turn back the wheel of history. However, led by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the peasant masses took the socialist road with unshakable determination. In the face of the black order issued by Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk forcing peasants to "withdraw from the cooperatives and change the groups," some outwardly complied but secretly disobeyed. Many activists that emerged from the cooperative movement acted in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions. They carried out propaganda among and organized the masses to resist the adverse current and ride out the stormy waves. They resolutely resisted the evil wind to disband the cooperatives whipped up by Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk, and pushed the nationwide agricultural cooperative movement forward.

To sustain the enthusiasm of the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants for taking the socialist road, Chairman Mao personally presided over the Third National Conference on Mutual Aid and Cooperation in Agriculture, when

he severely criticized the crimes of Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk in disbanding the cooperatives. The meeting also drew up the "Decision on the Development of Agricultural Producers Cooperatives," dealing another heavy blow to Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang. Inspired by the "Decision," the cooperative movement forged ahead in triumph and at an accelerated pace. In the autumn of 1954 some 100,000 cooperatives had been formed throughout the country, more than eight times compared with 1953.

With the deepening of the cooperative movement, the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines also became more intense. In 1955, ignoring Chairman Mao's warning about "not repeating the mistakes of disbanding a large number of cooperatives in 1953" and taking advantage of Chairman Mao's absence from Peking, Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang once again engineered sinister activities designed to "counter recklessness." Declaring that the cooperatives must "dismount quickly," Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk alleged that failure to do so would result in the break-up of the worker-peasant alliance. In May the same year, Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang formulated a reactionary policy of "suspension, contraction, readjustment" and at one stroke slashed 200,000 cooperatives.

Slashing the cooperatives went against the will of the people. When this "evil wind" struck Nanwangchuang in Anp'ing county, Hopei Province, class enemies there availed themselves of the opportunity to spread malicious rumors. Three poor peasant families including Wang Yü-k'un's, displaying the dauntless revolutionary spirit, withstood the evil "wind" calling for "dismounting" and smashed the class enemies' plot. They said firmly, "We've had enough of the evils of going it alone." They pledged to carry on with the cooperatives and said, "The Party is right in guiding us to take the socialist road." The three poor peasant families, with their firm and clear-cut stand, resisted the evil "wind" of "dismounting" and persisted in taking the socialist road.

At the crucial juncture when the movement for the cooperative transformation of agriculture was viciously halted by Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk, great leader Chairman Mao returned to Peking in July 1955. He called a meeting of secretaries of provincial, municipal and district Party committees and made the important report "On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation." Subsequently, he wrote the foreword and introductory notes to the book The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside. He heaped praises on the socialist enthusiasm of the peasant masses and eulogized the upsurge in the cooperative transformation of agriculture as "a large-scale socialist revolution movement involving more than 500 million inhabitants, a movement of immense worldwide significance." He pointed out, "The cooperative formed by three poor peasant families (mentioned above) has in the past few months produced an immense impact throughout rural China. This outstanding and heroic cooperative in Hopei Province is now known to all and has emboldened the poor peasants." "The direction indicated by the three poor peasant families is the direction for the 500 million peasants in the whole country. All peasants operating individually will eventually take the road firmly picked by these three poor peasant families." The Wang Kuo-fan Cooperative founded in the revolutionary "pauper's spirit" is "an image of our whole country." After penetratingly

revealing the essence of the struggle between the two lines, Chairman Mao said: "We take the opposite view, for if we don't mount quickly the worker-peasant alliance is in danger of being undermined. Here, the mere difference in one word, dismount and mount, spells the difference between two lines." Chairman Mao pointedly said that Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk "take the stand of the bourgeoisie, rich peasants or well-to-do middle peasants with spontaneous capitalist tendencies and work for a small number of people." Chairman Mao also sharply criticized the fallacy of Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang that "mechanization should precede cooperativization," stating, "In the agricultural field, under China's conditions (agriculture run along capitalist lines within a capitalist country), it is necessary to have cooperativization first before we are able to use large machines." The reason is that only by achieving agricultural cooperativization is it possible to provide socialist industrialization with a vast amount of commodity grain and industrial raw materials, a market and capital and promote socialist industrialization. It is because only by achieving cooperativization and thus linking up small plots of land into a large piece is it possible to use large farm machines. If the theory of productive forces advocated by Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk were put into practice and cooperativization were to wait until industry had developed to the extent of being capable of supplying a large quantity of farm machines, then inevitably that would lead to unbridled spread of capitalism in the rural areas, rendering both agricultural cooperativization and mechanization impossible. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, an upsurge of the cooperative movement swiftly swept across the country. By the end of 1956, more than 96 percent of peasant households in the county joined agricultural producers cooperatives, 87.8 percent with higher cooperatives. This was a basic victory for the socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production in the rural areas. Although the year 1956 encountered especially serious natural calamities, still total grain output showed a rise of 15.4 billion catties over 1955. This fully testified to the superiority of agricultural cooperatives.

However, Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk were not reconciled to their defeat. After the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk alleged that "the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has been basically resolved." The unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing also asserted that "since classes have in the main been eliminated, class struggle should no longer be emphasized." They held that the principal contradiction in the country was no longer one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but "the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces." Declaring that "the main task now for the Chinese people and the Party is to develop productive forces as rapidly as possible," they put this trash into the resolutions adopted at the 8th Party Congress without Chairman Mao's knowledge. When Chairman Mao discovered this, he pointed out that the views held by Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk were wrong and anti-Marxist and severely criticized them. Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk in fact harbored sinister motives when they referred to the contradiction between "backward" productive forces and "advanced" relations of production as the principal contradiction in the country. To put it

bluntly, the so-called "contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces" was a vilification of the socialist transformation, under Party leadership, of the ownership of the means of production as a subjective reckless move which went beyond the level of the developing production forces. This fallacy was nothing but a refurbished version of the "anti-recklessness" old tune that had been discredited long ago, although it was presented more in "theoretical form." Their evil intent was to benumb people's revolutionary fighting will under the guise of developing productive forces, vainly try to lead socialist construction down the wrong path, and plot to restore capitalism.

III. Consolidating and Developing the People's Commune's Collective Economy or Promoting "San-tzu I-pao" and Restoring Capitalism?

In 1958, a new social structure appeared like the rising sun above the horizon in the eastern part of Asia. This was the people's commune which integrated on a vast scale in rural China industry, agriculture, commerce, education and military affairs and combined government administration with commune management.

The appearance of the people's commune was by no means accidental; rather, it was an inevitable product of China's political and economic development, a more profound, great socialist revolution movement in the countryside. Following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, social productive forces in our country gained considerable development. The victory of the 1957 anti-Rightist struggle greatly aroused the socialist enthusiasm of the people of the whole country. In the winter of that year, the peasant masses whipped up an upsurge in large-scale farmland water conservation construction. In 1958, under the illumination of the general line for building socialism drawn up by Chairman Mao, the national economy as a whole witnessed the thriving development of a big leap forward. Displaying the heroic mettle of "removing mountains and diverting waterways," hundreds of millions of peasants unfolded the great struggle to battle nature. They called for breaking down the barriers hampering the agricultural producers cooperatives to organize the collective economy on a wider scale. The peasants in various localities conducted many revolutionary experiments and used various names in trying to achieve a breakthrough in the organizational form of higher cooperatives. In these circumstances, our great leader Chairman Mao, identifying himself with the common cause of the masses of the people, made inspection tours of the countryside of various provinces on many occasions. After summing up the experience of the mass movement, he issued the great call "the people's commune is fine" to the whole country. Subsequently, he presided over an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee at which he drew up the "Decision on the Establishment of People's Communes in the Rural Areas." Warmly responding to the great call issued by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the peasants throughout the country whipped up an upsurge in the mighty movement to set up people's communes. In only a few months beginning from the summer of that year, more than 740,000 agircultural producers cooperatives throughout the country were reorganized into over 26,000 peope's communes on the basis of the aspirations of the broad peasant masses.

Characterized by their "vast size and having a high degree of public ownership," the people's communes further aroused the socialist enthusiasm of the peasants and contributed in no small measure toward promoting farm production and developing the national economy as a whole. The establishment of the people's communes was fraught with vital and far-reaching significance in consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system. In the year people's communes came into being, a bumper farm harvest was reaped throughout the country, illustrating that only by persisting in the socialist revolution and adjusting in time that portion of relations of production not in accord with productive forces was it possible to promote the development of social productive forces.

Being a profound social revolution, the people's commune movement was bound to encounter the resistance of the bourgeoisie in the Party. At first Liu Shao-ch'i teamed up with Ch'en Po-ta, an old anti-communist element, in stirring up a "communist typhoon," vainly trying to topple the people's communes from the "Left." After this conspiracy collapsed, he directed P'eng Te-huai, a Right opportunist element, to carry out sabotage from the Right. At the 8th Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee held in 1959, P'eng dished up his "Letter of Suggestions," an opportunist anti-Party program, to revile the three red banners and attack the people's communes as having been "introduced too soon" and "in a mess." This was synonymous with Liu Shao-ch'i's fallacy to the effect that "the relations of production have overtaken the productive forces." Our great leader Chairman Mao promptly discerned the anti-Party conspiracy hatched by P'eng Te-huai and his cohorts and led the whole Party to firmly struggle against them. After profoundly summing up the historical experience of the struggle against the P'eng Te-huai anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao pointed out that the Right opportunist elements in the Party had never been proletarian revolutionaries but were merely bourgeois and petty bourgeois democrats who came over to the camp of proletarian revolutionaries, that they had never been Marxist-Leninists but were merely the Party's fellow travelers. "The struggle that took place in Lushan was a class struggle, a continuation of the life-and-death struggle between two major antagonistic classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, in the course of the socialist revolution over the past decade."

From 1959 to 1961, as a result of three successive years of serious natural calamities and the sabotage of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, our national economy encountered temporary difficulties. To overcome these difficulties and to persist in taking the socialist road, Chairman Mao called upon the whole Party and the people of the whole country to achieve rejuvenation through self-reliance and to press ahead with vigor. He put forth the general guideline for developing the national economy by "taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor." In 1961, with Chairman Mao's personal solicitude, the Party Central Committee drew up and promulgated "The Draft Regulations Concerning the Rural People's Communes" (that is, the 60 Articles). This safeguarded and aroused the socialist enthusiasm of the vast numbers of commune members in the rural areas and fostered the further consolidation and development of the people's communes.

However, Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk thought that the moment for restoration had come. Echoing the anti-China chorus of imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries abroad, they lost no time in launching frenzied attacks against the Party and socialism. Talking rubbish, they said "our economy is near the brink of collapse." They openly put forth and pushed the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of san-tzu i-pao (free marketing, extension of private plots, sole responsibility for one's own profits and losses, and fixing output quotas based on the household). They shouted "Don't be afraid of capitalism spreading unchecked," and called for "retreating sufficiently in both industry and agriculture, including fixing output quotas based on the household and individual operations." Elaborating on this graphically, the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing said: "As long as production can be increased, going it alone may be allowed. It doesn't matter a cat is white or black so long as it catches mice." Provoked by Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the capitalist forces for a time ran rampant, with such manifestations of capitalism as "responsibility farms," "distributing land to the individual households" and "system of responsibility for output." This seriously weakened the collective economy. If their schemes were successful, it would not be long before new bourgeois elements would be engendered in droves, the overthrown landlords and rich peasants would again ride roughshod over the poor and lower-middle peasants, the socialist collective economic organization would degenerate, and capitalist restoration would inevitably take place.

Chairman Mao promptly discovered the conspiratorial activities of Liu Shao-ch'i and company in restoring capitalism. At the enlarged work conference of the Party Central Committee held in January 1962, Chairman Mao pointed his finger at the sinister activities carried out by Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk to trumpet san-tzu i-pao, disintegrate the people's commune's collective economy and restore capitalism. He said: If our country does not establish the socialist economy,what kind of situation will arise? China "will become a bourgeois state in fact, with the dictatorship of the proletariat changing to a bourgeois dictatorship, very likely a reactionary, fascist-type dictatorship. This is a question that deserves our vigilance, and I hope all the comrades will think it over." At the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee held in 1962, Chairman Mao again gave this admonition to the whole Party: "Never forget classes and class struggle." Putting forth in a more comprehensive manner the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism, he said: "Socialist society covers a fairly long period of time. In the historical period of socialism there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, and the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We should conduct socialist education. We should correctly understand and handle the questions of class contradictions and class struggle, and correctly distinguish the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves from those among the people and handle them. Otherwise, a socialist state such as ours will go to the opposite direction, it will degenerate and restoration will appear. From now on, we must talk about this question every year, every month, every day so we will have a sober understanding of this issue and have a Marxist-Leninist line." This basic line is the lifeline of our Party and State. Guided by the Party's basic line, through the "socialist education movement"

and particularly through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, vast numbers of cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants in the countryside have further raised their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the moment, led by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, they are seriously studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, taking class struggle as the key link, adhering to the Party's basic line, deepening the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, unfolding the mass movement to build Tachai-type counties throughout the land, beating back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, repudiating revisionism and capitalism and practicing socialism in a big way. This will further consolidate the socialist position in the countryside, further develop the collective economy and bring about a thriving scene on the agricultural front as a whole.

History is a mirror. In reviewing the history of the agricultural cooperative movement in retrospect, we can see clearly that prior to the great cultural revolution the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing followed Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao in preaching the reactionary theory of productive forces and opposing agricultural cooperation and the people's commune, giving support to fixing output quotas based on the household and practicing restoration and regression. After he was criticized during the great cultural revolution, he said he would "never reverse the verdict." But not long after resuming work, he returned to his old self again and stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. He reversed the decisions of the great cultural revolution and wanted to settle account with it. In addition, he dished up the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and denied that the principal contradiction during the socialist period was one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Opposing taking class struggle as the key link, he spread everywhere the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces. He was against "talking about class struggle every day" and advocated the idea of "making everything revolve around the four modernizations." He did his utmost to whip up the "economic typhoon" and the "vocational work typhoon" and opposed repudiation of bourgeois rights. He resented the new things that restricted bourgeois rights from various aspects and decried attempts to restrict bourgeois rights in the absence of "a material foundation." All these facts show that the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing has never been a true Marxist but a bourgeois democrat. He is accustomed to using the stand and world outlook of bourgeois democrats to view the socialist revolution, and therefore he is bound to become an oppositionist, a restorationist and an unrepentant capitalist roader in the period of socialist revolution. At every crucial juncture in the development of socialist revolution, he always resorted to different tactics to peddle the reactionary theory of productive forces in a vain attempt to block the advance of the revolutionary torrent. When the socialist revolution was winning great victories, he again dished up the reactionary theory of productive forces to negate the revolution and conspired to restore capitalism. What is worth looking into is that when he was peddling the reactionary theory of productive forces, he always flaunted the ensign of developing productive

forces to show his disguised concern for production. Therefore, we should expose this fraud when repudiating the reactionary theory of productive forces trumpeted by him. We should uncover the reactionary nature of his futile attempts to undermine socialist revolution and construction and restore capitalism. We must link our criticism of the theory of productive forces with our repudiation of the theory of the dying out of class struggle, grasp class struggle as the key link, and adhere to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production, using revolution to command and push production forward and developing the national economy further.

People may ask: Why did Teng Hsiao-p'ing pick up the reactionary theory of productive forces, which has already gone bankrupt, as a weapon to oppose the revolution? This is because he represents only a minority and, lacking truth, he has to borrow the trick used by both new and old revisionists, namely, "without a clean principed weapon, then pick up a dirty weapon."

Our great leader Chairman Mao recently pointed out: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party -- those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." We must seriously study this important instruction of Chairman Mao's and his other important directives, study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, firmly bear in mind the Party's basic line, and remember well that throughout the entire socialist period the principal contradiction is one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the main danger is revisionism. We must also firmly bear in mind that the target of the revolution is the bourgeoisie and the focal point is those persons in power in the Party taking the capitalist road. Led by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and taking class struggle as the key link, we must thoroughly criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and repudiate his revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," criticize the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces and eclectic sophistries, and carry through to the end the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts and the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat!

* * *

Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/

No. 1, February 20, 1976

Table of Contents

Two Poems - by Mao Tse-tung SPRCM No. 856

Bravely Climb the Road of Continuous Revolution
- by Hung Ch'eng SPRCM No. 873

Revolutionary Torrents Cannot Be Resisted
- by Pao Pin and Erh Lien SPRCM No. 873

The Orientation of Educational Revolution Must Not Be Tampered With
- by Mass Criticism Group of Peking and Tsinghua Universities SPRCM No. 852

Hit Back at the Right Deviationist Wind of Reversing Verdicts in Science and Technology Circles
- by Mass Criticism Group of Peking and Tsinghua Universities SPRCM No. 859

It Is Necessary To Continue Criticizing Confucius
- by Li Ch'eng SPRCP No. 6049

Do Not Forget the Rudimentary Knowledge of Marxism -- Study Lenin's criticism of Bukharin's eclecticism
- by 2nd-year Worker-Peasant-Soldier Students, World History Speciality, Department of History, Peking University

Be a Staunch Promoter of New Things -- Notes on studying Lenin's "A Great Beginning" and other works
- by Cheng Ch'ün, Peking University

Wholeheartedly Support Revolutionary New Things SPRCM No. 873

Despicable Renegades from the Paris Commune -- Comment on Soviet revisionists' distortion of the historical experience of the Paris Commune

- by Ts'ao T'e-chin and Chang Hung-ju

Advance Victoriously on the Road of Revolution in Historical Science

The Present Is Better Than the Past on the Education Front -- Struggle by History Department of Peking University against Right deviationist wind

- by Jen-min Jih-pao Correspondent and Reporter SPRCP No. 6041

Nothing Is Hard in This World If You Dare To Scale the Heights

- by Workers Historical Research Group, the Shanghai Heavy-Duty Machinery Manufacturing Company

Study the History of Confucian-Legalist Struggle and Class Struggle As a Whole, Occupy the Position of Historical Science

- by Hsüeh Ch'ing-ch'üan and Other Workers of Tientsin Eastern Station

Reverse the Reversal of History SPRCM No. 874

Happy To Discuss the New Changes on the Historical Front

- by T'ang Ch'ang-ju SPRCM No. 874

A Sharp Weapon Against Capitulationists -- Notes on studying "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky"

- by Historical Research Group, Peking Truck Repair Plant No. 5

Define Two Kinds of Limits, Persevere in Continuing the Revolution -- Question of peasant revolution in the context of Water Margin

- by T'ien Ch'ang-wu

A Brief Discussion on Hung Hsiu-ch'üan's Peasant Revolutionary Line
- by Chung Chi-chou SPRCM No. 869

T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo and T'ien-ti Hui -- On the two-line struggle during the Chint'ien uprising
- by Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants Theoretical Group, Chint'ien Commune, Kueip'ing, Kwangsi

Li Hsiu-ch'eng -- A Mirror of Revisionism and Capitulationists
- by Chang Hai-p'eng SPRCM No. 869

Tachai Matures in Struggle* - by Compiling and Writing Group of History of Tachai, Hsiyang County

Biography of Martyr Lin Hsiang-ch'ien - by Theoretical Group, Department of History, Fukien Normal University

Talks on China's Ancient History

The Sixth Talk: Sui and T'ang -- the Highly Developed Feudal Society and Its Economic and Cultural Prosperity
- by Theoretical Group of T'ienchu Commune, Shun-i County, Peking Municipality and Department of History, Peking Normal University

* * *

---

* To appear in a later issue.

Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/

No. 6, December 20, 1975

Table of Contents

Always Persist in All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie -- Notes on studying Lenin's theory and practice on consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat
- by Sui Pin, Certain Naval Unit, and Che Chün, Peking University

Peasant Revolution and Capitulationist Line
- by Lin Kan-ch'ün and Others

The Glorious History of Peasant Uprisings Brooks No Distortion
- by Water Margin Commentators Group, CCP Liangshan County Committee

Completion of Water Margin and Its Social Background
- by Hu Nien-i and Others

The Victory of the Long March Is a Magnificent Song of Triumph for Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line
- by Lin T'ien SPRCM No. 862

Discipline Is the Guarantee for Enforcing the Line
- by Wu Erh-hung

Uphold Unity, Oppose Splits -- A critique of Chang Kuo-t'ao's Right splittist line
- by Lung Chün and Shih Ta

Ch'en Tu-hsiu's Capitulationism and the Majih Incident
- by Modern History Group of Hunan Provincial Philosophy and Social Science Research Institute

On Aristocracy During the Warring States Period
- by Kung Yen and Nan Ku

Revolution Releases Productive Forces -- Notes on Studying Book of Lord Shang
- by Pai Ch'ing

Ch'i Chi-kuang's Thought of Running the Army
- by Hung Ch'eng SPRCM No. 858

The Ancient Yellow River Takes on a New Look
- by Huang Wei SPRCM No. 865

Tsarist Russia's Aggression and Aggrandisement Against the Balkan*
- by Shih Ping and Pao Pin

Contention for Hegemony Among Major Powers in the Balkan Prior to World War I
- by Kan Li

Biography of the Iron Man - by Hai Lu

Talks on China's Ancient History

The Fifth Talk: Eastern Han, the Three Kingdoms, and the Southern and Northern Dynasties of Tsin -- Period of Slow, Devious Development of Feudal Society

- by History Class, Southern Station Depot, Tientsin Station Spare-Time University and Chinese Ancient History Group, Department of History, Nank'ai University

* * *

END

---

* To appear in a later issue.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
National Technical Information Service
Springfield, Va. 22161

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PRINTED MATTER

AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COM-211

CMP X761231 001
UNIV ILLINOIS LIB AT CHICAGO CIRCLE
LIB SERIALS SEC
BOX 8198
CHICAGO IL 60680